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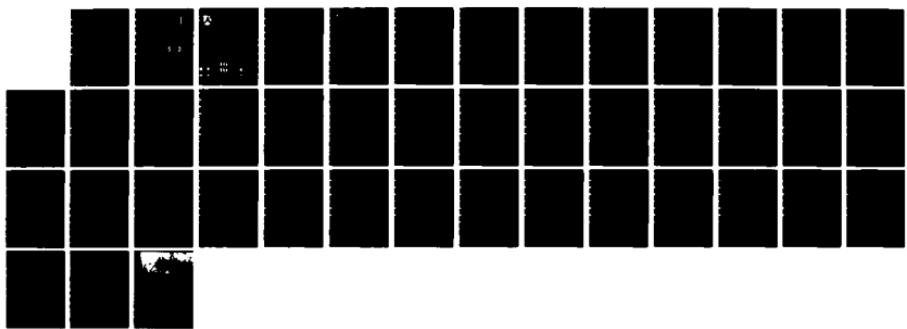
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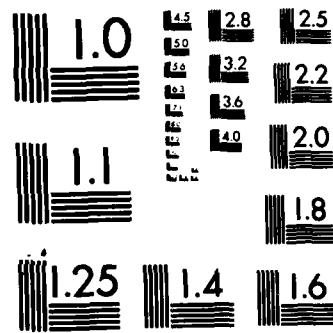
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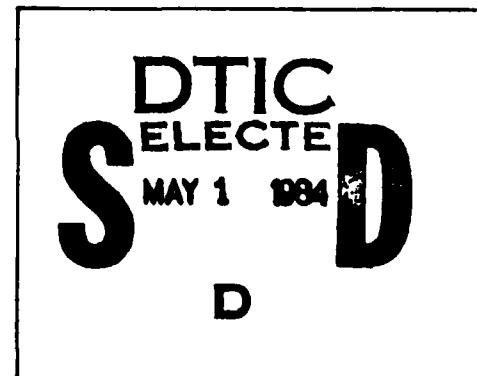
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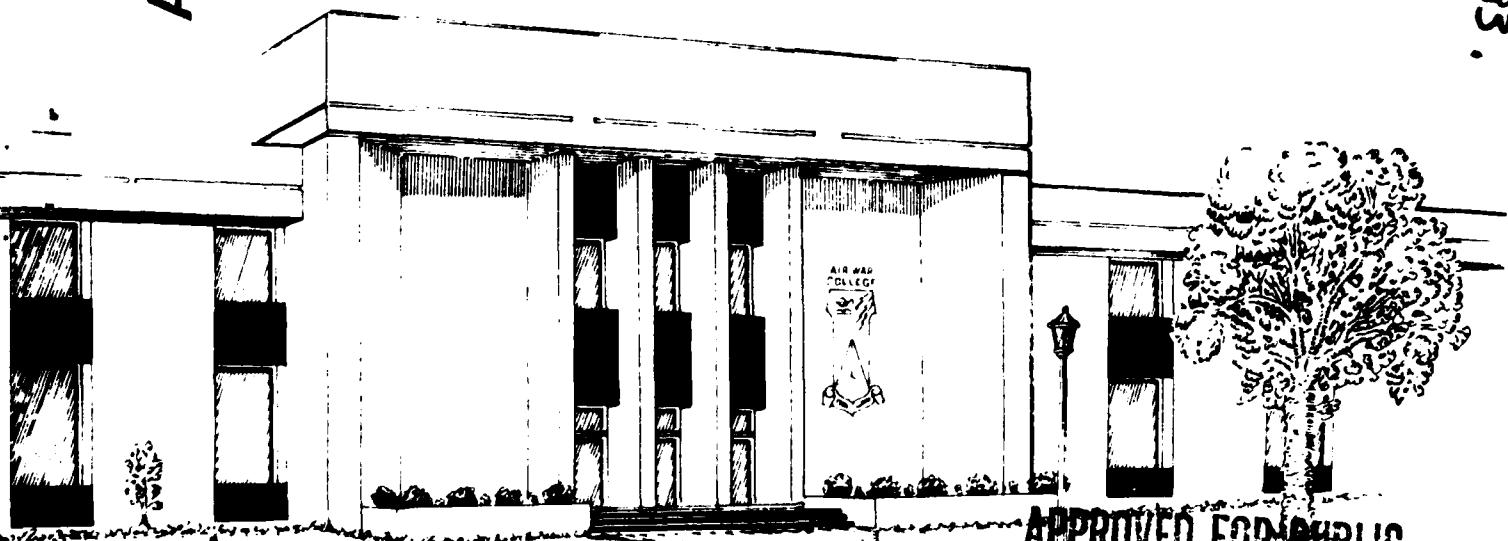
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SHOULD A CHRISTIAN OFFICER SUPPORT NUCLEAR WAR?

AD-A140 625

By COLONEL JAMES T. FERRELL

Ferrell, James T.
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AIR UNIVERSITY (ATC)
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SHOULD A CHRISTIAN OFFICER SUPPORT NUCLEAR WAR?

by

JAMES T. FERRELL, 240-60-0531FR

COLONEL, USAF

A Research Report Submitted To The Faculty
In
Fulfillment of the Research
Requirement

Research Advisor: Colonel Robert J. Allen

Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

February 1982



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
AIR WAR COLLEGE (ATC)
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Office of the Dean
School of Resident Programs

The attached research report was completed by the author while attending the Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. The student was given every opportunity to express ideas, criticize concepts, and develop new solutions in a free and open academic environment. This report was not formally edited by the staff nor faculty and does not necessarily represent official Air War College, Air Force, or Department of Defense policy. It is not approved for release to the public. Reproduction in part or whole can only be approved by the Air War College. Distribution of the paper is made with one goal in mind: to enhance the military profession.

Robie Hackworth
ROBIE HACKWORTH, Colonel, USAF
Dean, School of Resident Programs

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Air War College Research Report Summary

Title: Should A Christian Officer Support Nuclear War?

Author: James T. Ferrell, Colonel, USAF

Centering around the moral question of a Christian officer's involvement in nuclear war, the author reviews the history of the Just War doctrine. Following that is a brief look at the current arguments against our nation's defense policy of deterrence. The author continues with the moral arguments, pro and con, over the use of nuclear weapons throughout the spectrum of responses to aggression and ends with a personal view, drawing from a Biblical framework on which to base his decision.

Biographical Sketch

Colonel James T. Ferrell (M. Ed., College of William and Mary), has served extensively in the personnel field with experience at all levels of command. In addition, he was an Air Force Advisor to the VNAF in 1967-1968, a member of the TAC Inspection Team in 1968-1970 and a Deputy Base Commander in 1980-1981. He is a graduate of Squadron Officer School, Professional Personnel Management Course, the Base Commanders Course, and the Air War College Class of 1983.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Over 2500 years ago the prophet Isaiah spoke the following words:

And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow into it.

And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.
(Isaiah 2:2-4)

To the Christian officer, the quote from Isaiah gives hope and encouragement of a day to be in which the profession of arms will be obsolete. These officers pray with urgency for that day to come soon. But as soon as that prayer is uttered, the reality of the world in which we live today speaks loud and clear. That reality is put forth best in a speech by President Ronald Reagan to the United Nations on conflict and aggression around the world created by the Soviet Union.

Since World War II, the record of tyranny has included Soviet violation of the Yalta Agreements leading to domination of Eastern Europe, symbolized by the Berlin wall.... It includes the take-

over of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Afghanistan and the ruthless repression of the proud peoples of Poland.

Soviet sponsored guerrillas and terrorists are at work in Central and South America, violating human rights and unnerving the world with violence. Communist atrocities in Southeast Asia, Afghanistan and elsewhere continue to shock the free world as refugees escape to tell of their horror.

The decade of so-called détente witnessed the most massive Soviet buildup of military power in history. They increased their defense spending by 40 percent while American defense actually declined in the same real terms.

Soviet aggression and support for violence around the world have eroded the confidence needed for arms negotiations.

While we exercise unilateral restraint, they forged ahead and today possess nuclear and conventional forces far in excess for an adequate deterrent capability. Soviet oppression is not limited to the countries they invade. (25:579)

To combat the Soviet threat, the United States has maintained a policy of deterrence supported by our Triad of land-based ICBMs, submarines, and bombers. Their purpose is to "meet and answer force at whatever level it might be initiated." (35:4) Secretary Weinberger put it this way:

Our policy to prevent war since the age of nuclear weapons began has been one of deterrence. Our strategic nuclear weapons are only retaliatory. Their purpose is to provide us with a credible retaliatory capability in the event we are struck first. The idea on which this is based is quite simple: it is to make the cost of starting a nuclear war much higher than any possible benefit to an aggressor. (35:4)

From the Soviet threat, and the United States response to that threat, comes the possibility of nuclear war. In

each officer's commissioning oath, they solemnly swore to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies,... So help me God." That oath implies support to the government's defense policy and the possible employment and use of nuclear weapons in the pursuit of peace. Today, however, there are voices in the land that would question supporting that oath. That voice is from both the sacred and the secular and is saying that nuclear war is not only wrong, but nuclear war is immoral. That voice is saying:

The fundamental American moral dilemma of nuclear deterrence is how the U.S. can prevent one evil (Communist expansion of power at the expense of Western interests) by threatening to unleash another evil (nuclear destruction and radioactive contamination.) (23:34)

"The nuclear war is immoral" idea has gone beyond the pacifist view of being against force in general. We are hearing also from those that, in the past, have supported a "just war," but now are saying that nuclear war exceeds the rationale for a just war. One individual that has changed his mind on the subject is Major General Kermit Johnson, recently retired Chief of Chaplains of the U.S. Army. In speaking before the Presbyterian Church General Assembly, he stated that our leaders need to "exercise their considerable talents in the 'politics of self-interest' by stopping the nuclear arms race instead of continuing to justify and stockpile the means of mutual suicide." (17:1017)

Not only are people changing their minds, they are becoming more vocal about it as evidenced by the numerous peace demonstrations throughout Europe and America. There is the growing conviction in the world that the next war--nuclear war--will be the last one. There are doubts that surface as people begin to question Christian officer's beliefs because of their profession and because they support the government's position. Is it wrong to believe that peace can be achieved through maintaining a strong American nuclear force? Rear Admiral Robert L. Baughan, Jr. stated that a "Christian is not performing his national duty if he does not examine his conscience periodically in conjunction with an analysis of his country's official behavior." (5:16) It is my intent in this paper, to do just that.

In attempting to answer the question, "Should a Christian officer support nuclear war?", the Just War Theory on which the Christian justifies his military experience will be reviewed. From there, recent arguments against our country's current policy of maintaining a nuclear deterrence and/or possible use of nuclear forces will be examined. Third, some of the common arguments on the use of nuclear weapons from the idea of deterrence through all-out nuclear war will be analyzed. Last, the question will be answered from my own personal viewpoint using a Biblical framework to support my position.

Since the question is a moral question, there probably will never be an agreed upon right or wrong answer. It also is a personal question that needs to be answered not only by the military, but by every American citizen.

CHAPTER II

JUST WAR DOCTRINE

Fundamental to a Christian's involvement in or support for nuclear war, is the more basic question, can a Christian justify the military experience at all? That question "has troubled serious followers of Christ almost since the foundation of the Church." (28:21)

The formulation of the Just War doctrine begins with the early church. Some historians claim the first Christians were pacifists concerned only with their religious duties and not the secular affairs of the world. (4:1) To support their view, they hold mainly to the image that

... Christianity is an ideal and beautiful religion.... It preaches a God of love whom there is no reason to fear; it marks an escape from the conception presented in the Old Testament, of a vindictive and jealous God who will terribly punish his enemies. The "Christian" God is a roi fainéant, whose only triumph is in the Cross; his appeal is for goodness and unselfishness, and to follow him is to act according to the Sermon on the Mount.... (28:52-53)

These historians point out the scripture that says, "Blessed are the peacemakers...", (Matthew 5:9) and emphasize that as Christians, "that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." (Matthew 5:39) They say for Christians to "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." (Matthew 5:44) They further point

out that Christ strictly forbids violence when addressing Peter; "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." (Matthew 27:52)

These same historians, however, pass over scriptures in which Christ drove the money changers from the temple. (Matthew 21:12) They failed to point out that Christ supported the public order to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." (Matthew 22:21) Christ did not advise the Centurion to get out of the military (Luke 7:1-9; Acts 10) and Paul advises the Church to support the government (Romans 13:1-7) and not to yield the sword in vain. (Romans 13:4) They also fail to cite completely the Old Testament record of law and justice under obedience to God who is "the same yesterday, and today, and forever." (Hebrews 13:8)

From a review of the historical record, there seems to be a scriptural basis to support both a pacifist early church or a church that could support a Christian in the military. Whatever stand one takes, most historians do agree that there were very few Christians serving in the military during the first three centuries. The reason was not so much based on scriptural interpretation but because "actual military service involved objectionable practices ranging from worship of pagan gods to risking the occasions of sin endemic in the military life of the day. (24:19)

Rome did not have mandatory military service and there was little pressure on Christians to serve, therefore,

...believers would not join the army in the second and third centuries because it involved taking an idolatrous oath of allegiance to the emperor. The same scruples that kept Christians out of the Army led them to decline to serve in other governmental positions. They refused to take part in the civil state because of the participation in sacrifices, oath taking, and torture that Rome demanded of civil servants. Just as there is no evidence for the presence of Christians in the Roman Army before the end of the second century, so there is no record of believers in positions of authority under the Roman government until about A.D. 250. (9:12-13)

The main emphasis of the early Christians was with religious duties and they were tolerant of governmental authority as long as it did not interfere with their loyalty to God. Because of this belief, the Christian community became isolated. Their isolation led to mistrust and persecution by the government and the charge of disloyalty. (9:13) The critics claimed the Christians were irresponsible and "that Christians accepted the benefits of Imperial Rome, but were unwilling to meet the obligations of citizenship." (4:2) The arguments continued back and forth between the church fathers and Rome. This contradictory attitude was tolerated as long as the Christians were a small minority, but as the Christians became more numerous, and were slowly integrated into society, something had to be done. (9:14)

The situation changed rapidly in the fourth century. Emperor Constantine claimed that his victory at Milvian

Bridge in 312 A.D., was due to divine intervention, and he converted to Christianity. From that point on the atmosphere was favorable to Christians and in "380 A.D., the Emperor Theodosius I declared Christianity the official religion of the Empire." (24:19)

The fate of Christianity increasingly appeared to be tied to that of the Empire. The decline of the Empire and the invasion of pagan barbarians confronted the church with the choice of assisting in the defense of Roman society or of waiting tremulously to see what life would be like under the barbarians. The Church clearly chose the former course. (24:19)

With Christianity as the official religion of the state, the Church began to take on a new approach to Christian service in the military. Saint Basil, Saint Athanasius, and Saint Ambrose in the fourth century stated in their writings that "killing in war for the sake of common good, the protection of one's own soil and of religion could be justified." (30:106) Saint Augustine, in this same period, however, is credited with beginning the formal doctrine of the teaching of the church on morality and war. (24:19)

Saint Augustine emphasized that a person could serve in the army and also follow the Lord.

His "Just War" theory consisted of rules of warfare developed by classical thinkers such as Plato and Cicero, with a Christian emphasis. War, he claimed, should be fought to restore peace and to obtain justice. It must always be under the direction of the legitimate ruler, and be motivated by Christian love. Such love, he believed, is not incompatible with killing because nonresistance is identified with an inward feeling. (9:14)

It must be emphasized that Augustine's concern of Christian love for all men formed the basis for his justification of the use of force. The following is an example to illustrate Augustine's thinking.

Suppose I come across an assailant with upraised sword about to strike down an innocent wayfarer. It is my obligation out of love to keep this from happening, to protect the innocent victim. In discharging this obligation I may use force against the unjust assailant. But he, too, is someone I must love, as a Christian, for Christ died for all men. Thus I may not wantonly kill him; I must use restraint in preventing him from carrying through his intention. In the end, I may do to him what he threatens to do to the innocent third party, but no more, and I may do it only to keep him from turning his threat into action; if he leaves off fighting, I am obliged to leave off as well. (16:350)

From the time of Saint Augustine until the time of Saint Thomas Aquinas, 800 years later, the principal teachings, attitudes and activities of the Church reaffirmed the concept of Just War doctrine. There were attempts, during these eight centuries, to limit war in some areas. The Peace of God, Council of Charroux, prohibited attacks on churches, clerics, and noncombatants. The Truce of God, Council of Clermont, prohibited fighting on various days and seasons, set apart by the Church. The Lateran Council banned the use of the cross bow. (24:20) These rules did not apply to Christians waged in war against infidels and heretics.

It was not until the Decretals of Gratian in the twelfth century that the teachings of Saint Augustine were put into a systematic legal form. (4:9) In the thirteenth century, Saint Thomas writes that war may be just if three conditions are met.

1. The authority of the sovereign by whose command the war is to be waged. It is not the business of a private individual to declare war..., because he can seek redress of his rights from a tribunal.

2. A just cause is required, namely that those who are attacked should deserve it on account of some fault.

3. It is necessary that the belligerents should have a rightful intention, so that they intend the advancement of good or the avoidance of evil. (4:9)

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, additional requirements were added to Saint Thomas' three conditions for a just war. Suarez and Bellarmine added "a fourth requirement--the right way of conducting a war." (30:106) The fourth requirement contains the principles of proportion and discrimination and the concept of double effect. It was Suarez's thinking of the likelihood of "incidental, unintended" killing of innocents in normal military operations, that the double effect clause was firmly established. (24:27) Cajetan and Villoria added a fifth and sixth condition--"the ruler must be morally certain the just cause will win" and war "must be undertaken as a last resort after all other means have been unsuccessful." (30:107-108)

The Just War Doctrine, after the Catholic tradition, was incorporated into the Christian version at the time of the Reformation. Luther and Calvin, both wrote many books and tracts on the subject, and strengthened the just cause of war. At the time of the Reformation, seven conditions were to be satisfied for a war to be just.

1. War can be decided upon only by the legitimate authorities.
2. War may be resorted to only after a specific fault and if the purpose is to make reparation for injury or to restore what has been wrongfully seized.
3. The intention must be the advancement of good or the avoidance of evil.
4. In a war other than one strictly in self-defence, there must be a reasonable prospect of victory.
5. Every effort must be made to resolve differences by peaceful means before resorting to the use of force.
6. The innocent shall be immune from direct attack.
7. The amount of force used shall not be disproportionate. (4:16)

The Just War Doctrine today contains the seven main ideas, although they may differ slightly according to the source. "The Just War Doctrine is today, explicitly or implicitly, the ethical position of almost all nonpacifist Christians, but there has always been a pacifist minority within the Christian community." (4:18-19) The Christian community in early Rome was not considered a problem until

Christianity was the official religion of Rome, and the Christians were in the majority. So it is today as we see the beginnings of a similar situation developing. The Christian pacifist minority is being joined by people from all walks of life saying the Just War Doctrine is not valid, is dead and most certainly cannot apply to nuclear war. They say, "any large-scale use of nuclear weapons would be wicked."(30:125) It is to this thought that I turn to in chapter three, as we explore the growing support against the maintaining and using of nuclear weapons.

CHAPTER III

CURRENT MOOD

Names such as "the freeze," "the new pacifism," "nuclear freeze," "nuclear insanity," "nuclear pacifist," "the new peace movement," and "the Bishops revolt," are becoming catch phrases throughout our nation. "Times are a changing," as Bob Dylan would say, and there is a grass roots movement occurring that demands our attention. There is an emerging pacifism which "is not doctrinaire, intransigent, ideological. Rather it emerges as pragmatic, moderate, rational, flexible, stemming from the necessity of the concrete world." (22:70) Writing in Working Papers, Suzanne Gordon records in glowing words:

... the new peace movement is the metamorphosis of a long respectable minority voice. Today's movement for nuclear sanity originated in communities, not on campuses. Its members are well-established doctors, scientists, church leaders--as well as ordinary citizens. After almost forty years, the campaign for nuclear disarmament finally has political credibility. (13:21)

The political credibility she talks about is evident in the freeze proposals placed on the ballots in the 1982 state political elections. In March 1982, Senators Kennedy and Hatfield, introduced legislation that called for a bilateral freeze. The highlight of all political activity was Senate Resolution 456, which was introduced in August, 1982. Although it was narrowly (by two votes) defeated, the word-

ing of Resolution 456 was quite revealing of the current mood that is surfacing. The resolution stated:

Whereas the policy of the United States has been to maintain strategic nuclear forces solely for the purpose of deterring war;

Whereas a nuclear war cannot be "won" in any meaningful sense of the word because the resulting destruction would be so extensive;

Whereas substantial unease has developed within the United States and abroad regarding current American policy on the role of nuclear weapons in our defense;

Whereas uncertainty regarding United States nuclear doctrine and forces has already resulted in the stalemate, since 1976, of the arms control process designed to reduce reliance upon nuclear weapons and to minimize the risks of accidental war;

Whereas as the risks of nuclear war appear greater today than ever before; and

Whereas planning to enable the United States to win a nuclear war may make nuclear war more likely; Now therefore, be it

Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that the United States should not engage in planning for nuclear forces and strategies whose objective is to enable the United States to wage and win a nuclear war.

That resolution would not have been introduced a few years ago, but it is a fact, the list of people against the growing arms race (their claim) and for a nuclear freeze is getting longer each day. Statements against the "insanity of nuclear war," are common place. All seem to point out that "on a global scale, the most dangerous moral issue in the public order is the nuclear arms race." (26:71)

A world opinion survey in early 1982, pointed out that two-thirds of the people in the United States and Japan, believe all-out nuclear war will possibly occur in the future. In Japan, by a two-to-one margin, the people say that nations with nuclear weapons should give them up. In the United States, by a seven-to-two margin, the people approved of a world-wide halt on the production, maintenance, and employment of nuclear weapons. (34:60) A later survey in 1982, pointed out that 70 percent of all Americans favor banning the production, storage, and use of nuclear weapons. That same survey showed that 20 years ago, the ratio of Canadians preferring to fight a nuclear war rather than live under the Communists was six-to-one. Today, the ratio is one-and-one half-to-one. In Holland, a survey in response to the peace slogan, "all nuclear weapons out of the world, beginning with the Netherlands," was agreed to by 67 percent of the people. (12:19) I do not intend to give the false impression by these statistics that the majority of the people would vote for unilateral disarmament by the United States. I do want to point out the world-wide impact, attention, and changing attitudes created by the antinuclear movement.

Turning strictly to the church side of the peace movement, the same cry is heard. The Religion Newswriters Association reported that "the upsurge of religious opposition to nuclear weapons was regarded the year's top religious story." (31:38) Highlighting the Churches' stand is

the National Conference of Catholic Bishops Pastor Letter on War. The letter was written to provide resource material as an aide to making choices on war and peace today. The letter points out that:

...we are in a supreme crisis because nuclear war threatens the existence of our planet; it is a threat more devastating than anything the world has yet known. It is neither tolerable nor necessary that we should be doomed to live under such conditions. (27:307)

The Episcopal church in their House of Bishops Pastor Letter in 1982, voice their concern over the nuclear dilemma by claiming that "the future looks short for the planet." (15:1) They further ask for Americans to consider that:

... the undiminished production and deployment of nuclear weapons, even if never used, consume economic, technical, and natural resources of astronomically rising proportion. The squandering of such resources constitutes an act of aggression against the thirty children who die every sixty seconds of starvation in the world. It is a callous act of indifference to the 500 million people of the world who are underfed. We declare this to be immoral and unjust. (15:4)

The United Presbyterian church early in 1981, called for a halt to the nuclear arms race because, "the nuclear programs of the next decade, if not stopped, will pull the nuclear tripwire tighter." (29:11) And in May 1982, "the Council of Bishops of the United Methodist Church issued a pastoral letter which condemned nuclear weapons and endorsed the nuclear freeze." (29:11)

In June 1982, the Catholic Theological Society of America stated officially that "the use of nuclear weapons,

under any circumstances, is contrary to the will of God." (28:11) and finally, the Society for Protestant Theology in the Federal Republic of Germany stated "...the threat of weapons for mass destruction has to be regarded as sinful." (7:1)

The statements taken by the churches are getting stronger. They are only one step from saying that being in the military is a sin. The Bishops at the Second Vatican Council may already be thinking that by their statement "...that any use of nuclear weapons, and by implication, any intention to use them, is always morally--and gravely--a serious evil." (20:37) The Catholic Proposed Letter on War, in fact, implies a restriction on Catholic military personnel if nuclear weapons are deliberately used against civilian populations. The letter clearly states that Catholic military personnel must observe those prohibitions.

I have been presenting mostly peace movement, anti-nuclear, freeze group rhetoric, simply because there is not that much being written in defense of our nation's defense policy, outside the official government position. People, in reality, do not want to hear about preparing for a possible nuclear war when they can listen to the dream of a world in peace.

Religious opposition to western nuclear weapons policies presents a formidable challenge to prudent decision makers. Like their secular critics, religious leaders hold the most effective tools of persuasion in the public forum: Symbol, satire,

and sentiment, plus one more, the appeal to moral and even transcendent authority. (29:12)

However, scholars of all faiths and walks of life are taking note and are beginning "to present sound positions rooted in standards of reason, morality and political prudence." (29:11)

CHAPTER IV

DETERRENCE AND NUCLEAR OPTIONS

Pope John Paul II in speaking about morality and warfare, stated that Christian "peoples have a right and even a duty to protect their existence and freedom by proportionate means against an unjust aggressor." (2:3) The question remains, however, of what is proportionate means?

At the far left is the absolute pacifist who claims there are no proportionate means. Their argument is "that a true Christian should refrain from violence and killing in any circumstances...." (6:1) They would not take up any means to defend themselves, but by their example, influence the enemy to do likewise. These pacifists, and I include the political pacifists, philosophical pacifists, moral pacifists, social pacifists, and all those outside the Christian framework, in my opinion, fail to look at reality. America has not increased the size of her nuclear arsenal since 1967. "In fact, it is smaller by several thousand nuclear warheads.... The Soviet arsenal has grown since 1967 by some 6,000 nuclear warheads." (3:2) A recent editorial by Vermont Royster summed it up this way:

...those now parading to 'ban the bomb' are misguided.... What they ask, whatever they say, is that the Western World--mainly the United States--abolish its nuclear weapons unilaterally. There are no such parades in the Soviet Union and no one expects the chants in the West to be heeded in the Kremlin.

There are those, I know, who think it 'better Red than dead' and would willingly leave themselves defenseless before the Soviet Union. For them there is nothing worth dying for, not for country, nor for liberty, nor freedom, not even for the preservation of civilization. What is the good of that, they ask, if the price is death and destruction? (1:1)

From the absolute pacifist, we next come to the argument of deterrence. Basically deterrence "is the promise of reprisal in kind." (33:269) And whether we talk of nonnuclear or nuclear weapons, the concept is the same. The case for nuclear deterrence is loud and clear and the facts are plain:

...we have had enough deterrent strength in the past--enough to prevent nuclear war and also to prevent conventional war between the superpowers. We cannot abandon this crucial element of our security.... (36:8)

In the past, there has been very little argument against this concept of deterrence, "...but the nature of the deterrent in the nuclear age...", (27:315) raises severe moral arguments. The first argument centers around those who advocate the making and possession of nuclear weapons as a deterrent but claim, "that any real intention to use would be evil...." (22:69) The second argument is that "aggressive or 'first strike' wars are always immoral" (20:37) as it destroys the argument that peace is ever intended. A third argument is that "since nuclear weapons involve indiscriminate massive violence committed against civilian populations, their employment or contemplated use can never be

morally permitted." (20:37-38) All of the arguments are summed up by a former information director for the Catholic hierarchy:

Clearly we have moved beyond true deterrence to the production and use of nuclear weapons as an assertion of our national superiority. We are being urged to use our nuclear arsenal as bargaining chips for diplomatic and political adventures far beyond questions of deterrence. "Bargaining Chips" is the language used by the defense establishment, which also speaks of a "menu of flexible nuclear options." Once the nuclear force is regarded as a 'flexible' instrument for achieving purpose beyond the crude one of deterring a nuclear attack with the threat of an all-out counter attack on Soviet society, the arms race becomes a never-ending, infinitely escalating contest. (37:40)

Speaking in counter to these arguments and with the understanding that it is never easy in a democratic society for a "consensus continually to be maintained," Secretary Weinberger goes on to state:

...I respect the right of others to criticize ... defense concepts and, in that way, attempt to dissolve the national consensus needed to sustain them. I am determined, however, that this minority will not be the only voice heard. I think it vital to speak for the security of my client, the government and the people of the United States, and their freedoms. I know of no better or other way to protect them. (36:8)

There are those that support nuclear deterrence, but fall away due to the proposed responses to a planned or actual nuclear strike or overwhelming conventional resources against the United States or its allies. The current policy of "flexible response," which is the option to go from the

use of conventional to tactical nuclear or limited nuclear war to all-out "massive retaliation" or all-out strategic total war.

Within the "flexible response" scenario, we have already discussed deterrence which is the real option of being so strong that you do not have to fight. From there, however, the arguments arise against selective, limited, or tactical nuclear war. The cry is the danger of nuclear fallout, which is always an argument, and the danger of escalation. Also included are the same arguments used against deterrence in general. Nuclear fallout "could extend to innocent civilians and even to neutral third countries." (10:17) The danger of escalation is always present in that it can go all the way to total destruction. To support their argument for the "truth" of escalation, the shapers of the "flexible response" policy, Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy are now quoted as saying:

No one has ever succeeded in advancing any persuasive reason to believe that any use of nuclear weapons, even on the smallest scale, could reliably be expected to remain limited.... Any use of nuclear weapons ... carries with it a high and inescapable risk of escalation into the general nuclear war which would bring ruin to all and victory to none. (31:124)

From the limited, selective use of tactical nuclear weapons we run into the "massive retaliation" or all-out nuclear war.

The rationale assumed for the possession of nuclear weapons under such a doctrine of massive retaliation was that they provide a guaranteed

capability to respond to provocation in an overwhelming fashion by destroying much of an adversary's assets and that thereby they would deter such provocations. The concept is also known as deterrence by assured destruction, mutual assured destruction..., or as counter value deterrence. (11:163)

The main argument against the all-out nuclear war is that the majority of the rules of Just War Doctrine would be violated. Innocent civilians would be killed, and the damage inflicted would outweigh the good intention. Our current policy of "flexible response" is to respond only with the force necessary to deter the enemy, and not violate the laws of discrimination and proportionality. The critics, however, continue to ignore that, claiming that once a nuclear weapon is used, there can be no controlling the results.

I believe that everyone can agree that total nuclear war is not wanted by anyone. And I believe that the results of total nuclear war can be said to be a slap in the face of mankind. It is immoral that man everywhere can not live in peace. But in reply to such a statement, it must be asked:

Is it moral to allow wives, husbands, and children to die without even lifting a finger to protect them?

Is it moral to preach unpreparedness and panic in the face of aggression?

Is it moral to disavow our American heritage, to opt for the extinction of the "American dream"? (14:22)

If an all out nuclear war is initiated, then it is because our national survival is at stake. That must never be

allowed to happen. Secretary Weinberger quotes a Russian proverb, "if you make yourself like a sheep, you will find a wolf nearby," and then concludes; "we do not want to be wolves or sheep. We only want to live in peace with freedom, and that means we must be able to deter any attack on us or our allies." (35:7)

CHAPTER V

A PERSONAL VIEW

In Matthew chapter 16, Christ asks his disciples, "who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" (Matthew 16:13) They answered various things. "Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elijah; and others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets." (Matthew 16:14) But then, Christ asked them directly, "But who say ye that I am?" (Matthew 16:15) The question quickly became personal and an answer was required. I feel, in a real sense, the question over nuclear weapons is in the same vein, and I must give an answer.

A recent senior Army official speaking to the Air War College class of 1983, was asked his thoughts on the current debate over the nuclear question. His answer is not given, but his comment preceding his answer came out loud and clear. He stated plainly that he believed it was one of the most pressing problems that face us and thought that every officer should clarify their position on this very important question.

As a Christian, where do I turn to for an answer? Today's newspaper states that the American Academy of Religion has condemned any use of nuclear weapons as "contrary to the faith and fundamental moral values of the religious traditions of humankind." (32:11a) If they are right, and the arguments put forth by the churches in chapter two

of this paper are right, then I, as a Christian, have no choice but to get out of the military and take a stand against my country's defense policy.

When Simon Peter blurted out the answer to Christ's question, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God," Christ responded, "Flesh and blood have not revealed it unto thee, but my Father, who is in heaven." (Matthew:16:16-17) As a Christian, I have a unique access to the God who directs all human events, and like Peter, I need to have God reveal to me what stand I am to take. I do not claim that I have God's only word on the subject, or what is/is not the right interpretation of scripture. It is a personal question and I must give a personal answer on what Christ has revealed to me.

The scripture plainly points out where war begins; "Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" (James 4:1) As long as there is sin in the world, there will be war. The scripture also points out that there will be wars until Christ returns.

And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars; see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom: And there shall be famines and pestilences and earthquakes in divers places. (Matthew 24:67)

The Christian pacifist who preaches that the world will became a better place to live if only we will lay down our arms and preach peace or that it is God's plan that the

world will erode into a better place, in my opinion, ignores the truth of scripture. In fact,

God has not promised us such a world. He has actually taught us to expect the very kind of world in which we are living today. The words of our Lord were "see that ye be not troubled." Being forewarned, we were to be forearmed in the realm of our minds and our spirits. (18:10)

Since war, in the first cause, is a result of sin and will continue as long as man or nations survive, the question remains, what is the Christian response to war? Since individuals do not start war, nations do, the more fundamental question that must be answered first is, "What is the Christian's responsibility to the state?" In fact, it is this question that brought about the Just War Doctrine.

I find in the teachings of Christ, "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God, the things that are God's." (Matthew 22:21) These scriptures point out two worlds or walks of life, human government (responsibility to man) and divine government (responsibility to God). (19:12)

In human government, for example, we have the responsibility to pay taxes. Other scriptures point out we are "to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates," (Titus 3:1) and to "submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether... to the king... or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers...." (I Peter 2:13-14) And outlined in Romans, we have four fundamentals of Christian responsi-

bility to the state. First, human government is a divine institution ordained of God. (Romans 13:1) Second, the purpose is for law and order, to exercise the sword if required. (Romans 13:3-4) Third, we are to be obedient and if we resist, we resist God. (Romans 13:2,5) Fourth, we are to pay tribute and honor to whom tribute and honor is due. (Romans 13:6,7)

In the divine government, we, as Christians, are not of this world; "our citizenship is in heaven." (Philippians 3:20) We are "ambassadors for Christ," (II Corinthians 5:20) to show forth the love of Christ and to seek for the reconciliation of man to God. Jesus' teachings in the Sermon on the Mount, which the Christian pacifist views as the basic framework for nonresistance, I believe to be a personal response for a Christian as opposed to a total ethic to use as a basis for government and political action. (19:15)

Christians are never to avenge themselves. They are to return kindness and love for hostility; they are not to be overcome by evil, but to overcome evil with good. A Christian's personal conduct embodies a different ethic than that for the ordering of the state. The Christian lives by the law of love returning good for evil; the state has the responsibility of preserving law and order by the use of the sword as an instrument of the wrath of God upon evildoers. (19:15)

I believe that government, as outlined in scripture, is ordained by God to resist evil and to bring order, discipline, and security to the people. I believe scripture teaches me to obey that government. The only exception is

when government demands disobedience to the will of God, as revealed in scripture, and each Christian must decide that point of disobedience. I further believe that we face a serious threat to human freedom throughout the world due to Soviet aggression. Colonel Robert T. Duff, made the following statement in the January, 1983 issue of Air Force magazine:

I feel it is most presumptuous of me to remind our church leaders of the duplicity, the godlessness, the lack of honor, and the proven record of the Soviet Union in matters of living up to agreements, unlawful invasions, and suppression of human rights. The reality of Soviet action throughout the world must be evident....

I believe that it is necessary for the United States to deter the Soviet Union through maintaining a strong nuclear force. Nuclear weapons, nor any weapons, are immoral in themselves. It is the intention for which they are used that is/is not immoral. I believe, as our leaders have stated, that it is our intention to deter and not to fight unless forced to. As a Christian, I can only say to our government leaders to remember that we are a nation founded on a belief in God. To other Christians that may be struggling with this question, I say turn to God. Ask for wisdom and what Christ would have you do. This is not a decision for the Church, it is a decision to be made by each individual who professes the name of Christ.

We must all remember, our trust must be in God and not in the weapons of man. But if we have to fight, remember

that when David met Goliath, "he went down to face the giant trusting in God and using the weapons God had taught him to use well." (21:34)

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